A *Seasonable* Expostulatory *Letter*, sent from a *Gentleman* in the *Country* to an *Honourable* Member of *Parliament*.

Per negligentiam mutatur status Reipublicæ, cum ad potestates assumuntur illi, qui præsentem statum non amant.

Sir,

I Shall not need (I hope) to *Apologize* for my self to you, who have known me faithfull and constant to my professed Principles, ever since we were first acquainted: I am none of those that are commonly called *Sectaries*, no Kingling, no Protectorian, no *Aristocratian*, nor am I for a *Coordinate* Senate: But my judgement is (as you very well know) for a well regulated *Popular* Government; that good laws and orders (made by the peoples Representatives in *Parliament*) may rule and govern all sorts of men, good and bad; And for the two unhappy Interruptions of this famous *Parliament*, no man was more troubled and grieved than my self; nor was I wanting in my endeavours, (according to my place and Interest) for restoring them to the exercise of their Trust, as the onely lawfull *Supream* civill Authority of these Nations.

I must confesse, Sir, that it was the earnest desire of my *soule*; That matters of difference might have been sweetly composed (by the mediation of some discreet persons) between the Members of *Parliament* and the Officers of the *Army*, for removing, or at least allaying those exceeding great jealousies & heart-burnings, that vindictive rankor, & exasperation of Spirit, which any man might observe to be in them one against another; and which, it may well be feared (notwithstanding the Recession of the *Parliament*) will produce very sad effects in this distracted *Land*: For my own part, Sir, I was and am still confident, That as the *Army* could not subsist without this *Parliament*; so neither can the *Parliament* subsist without the *Army* and their friends & adherents:

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& it was my great fear, that as ſome of your Officers & their adherents had on the one hand run themſelves & the three Nations into dangerous extreams; ſo ſome of their *Oppoſites* (being in power) would on the other hand (by their raſhnes and precipitancy) fall into extreams as dangerous, & ſo diſoblige thoſe ſtout and gallant men, who muſt either ſtand by them in time of need, or elſe they may (for ought I know) ſhortly ruine themſelves, and that precious Cauſe, in which you and we are mutually Engaged.

*S*ir, If you conſider the Spirit of the Nations, the *Factions* amongſt your ſelves; the ſtrength, combinations and deſignes of your enemies: The ſad diviſions that are among good people throughout the three Nations; the deſperate malignancy and inſolency of multitudes in the City of *London*; The temper of moſt of the Common Souldiery (eſpecially the Foot) how apt they are to be drawn away from their Obedience by money, and fair promiſes: If you duly conſider, Sir, what opinion generally the people have of you and thoſe that are in preſent Authority; how much you are hated for your Self-ſeekings, and Conferring the greateſt places of profit and power on your ſelves and your Relations, and how you will be much more hated, if you ſit long and encreaſe thoſe burthens (which are ſo heavy on the three Nations) by great Taxes and Leavies; you cannot, Sir, but *rationally* conclude, that (the Cauſe which hath coſt ſo much Blood and Treaſure being ſecured) much Lenity, Clemency, and Moderation ought to be exerciſed towards thoſe valiant men, who have engaged with you (from the firſt) in the ſame Cauſe, and who lately (through the violence of Corruption and Temptation) have been led into unſafe and dangerous paths.

How many be there among your ſelves (I pray you) that have not at one time or other warped from that good old Cauſe, and complied either with the old or new *Cavaliers?* Did not moſt of you engage to be faithfull to the Protectors, both *Oliver* and *Richard*, and uſe your endeavours to *ingratiate* your ſelves with them, and yet when you had ſo done, you did what you could to pull them down, and for this end made uſe of the Army?

Where will you have fit and meet *Inſtruments* both in the

Councill

Councill and *Camp*, if you fly ſo high againſt your friends (whom through paſſion and miſtakes you proſecute as your greateſt enemies) Is it poſſible for you to ſtand onely on your own leggs? Are your Friends ſo numerous, that you care not though you diſoblidge moſt of them? Have you ſo much intereſt in the Nations as to command them with a nodd? Can you imagine, Sir, that the *Royalliſts* will fight for this *Parliament*, or that the Gentlemen of the long *Robe*, or thoſe of the *Presbyterian* party will cordially adhere to you, now that you diſcountenance the *Sectaries* (as they are called) not onely thoſe that have been unfaithfull to you, but generally all of them, though it is well known that among them there are many ſtout, diſcreet, and faithfull men, without whoſe aſſiſtance you cannot in rational probability ſettle, ſecure, and mantain your *Common-wealth*?

Be not miſtaken Sir, for all your courting the *Presbyterians* and ſome Quondam *Cavaliers*: They have not yet forgotten that You and your Fellow-members did ſit upon the death of their late *Soveraigne*; and that you poſſeſs a great part of the *Kings* and *Biſhops* Lands purchaſed with the price of Blood (even the *Debenters* of the poor Souldiers) That you had a great hand in ſecluding the Major part of the Houſe of *Commons*, many of them being eminent *Presbyterians*, which together with the late Vote of *Parliament* doth not a little exaſperate & enrage ther Spirits againſt you, as you may plainly ſee by their *Narrative*, & the bitter ſpreading infectious books of Mr. *Prin*: They have not yet forgotten the death of Mr. *Love*, the Impriſonment of *Waller*, *Brown*, *Clutworthy* and others; your high proceedings againſt ſome eminent *Citizens* of *London*, and generally againſt the *Preſbyterian Kirk*-party both in *England* and *Scotland*: Aſſure your ſelf they watch but for an opportunity to be revenged on you, yea, the chiefeſt of you, for thoſe *affronts* and *injuries* which they have received from you: What can you expect but ruine to your ſelves aſwell as your friends, if you ſtrengthen the hands of Malignants, *Neuters*, Time-ſervers, and moſt of your profeſſed Enemies, & diſcourage the hearts and weaken the hands of your Friends, that are as much engaged againſt the Royal Intereſt, and for a *Common-wealth*, as any men living. O that paſſion and perſonal

Animosities should so blind men, as that they should hazard the ruine of the Publique Interest, and the Liberty and Safety of the people of God, rather than not disgracefully lay aside those persons, against whom they are *incensed*: You and we talk much of a *Common-wealth*, but if God doe not give you more of a *Publique* spirit, and help you to deny your selves and your particular *Interests* and *Animosities*, we may well fear, that instead of a right *Common-wealth* an *Oligarky*, or Tyranny will be established in a few persons, who will continue themselves in the greatest places of power both in the *Councill* and *Camp*, which indeed is inconsistent with a true *Common wealth*, and will in a short time make way for an absolute *Monarchie* in a single person, whereunto the people will rather submit themselves, than to a *Tyranny* in a few persons; What doe they commonly say, but that the *factions* and *animosities* that are amongst you are endless, one Faction endeavouring to supplant another, and every one striving who should be the greatest, whereby the Nations are in a manner *Consumed*, and therefore they had better be under one *Prince*, than under *thirty* or *forty*: This is the general sense and *voyce* of most men.

How is it possible, Sir, that a right *Common-wealth* should be setled and secured in these Nations, so long as Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, Malice, Revenge, Bitterness of Spirit and Cruell heart-burnings bear sway both in City and Country, and in your *Counsells*, even in those persons that have engaged, prayed, and bled for the same Cause, who now would destroy one another, according to the words of the Apostle, *If ye bite* and *devour* one *another*, take heed *ye be not consumed one* of another.

Gal. 5. 15.

It is an observation of *Livie* (that excellent *Historian*) that the popular estate of *Rome* did never flourish more in Armes and Lawes, than in the times of *Papyrus Cursor*, when Magistrates and people did abound in *vertues*; * and truly the excellency of a *Common-wealth* is to be measured by *vertue*, justice and integrity, and not by wealth and riches: But now alas, with us *vices* doe abound both in Magistrates and people, and yet the Land is generally impoverished.

* *Illa ætate, quæ nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo erat qui magis nixa res Romana quam in Papirio Cursore staret.* Tit. Livi. Dec.

Bodin, that wise Statesman, speaking of the ruine of *Commonwealths* (among other causes) mentioneth the poverty

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of the greater part of the people, and the excessive riches of some few; The unequal division of estates and honours; the ambition and great desire that some have to command, and the revenging of past injuries, all which Symptomes and *Prognosticks* of ruine (with many more) are upon us, and few there be that lay these things to heart as they ought to doe, but when they are got into power they supplant their *opposites*, and yet doe the same things in effect that were done by them (though peradventure under another notion.) Bod. *de Rep.* *pub.* lib. 4.

The Power and *Soveraignty* of Command hath this bewitching evill and mischief in it, that oftentimes it maketh of a *seeming* good man an evill, of an humble man a proud, of a mercifull man a Tyrant, and of a wise man a fool, of a valiant man a coward: This we may observe throughout *History*: Who governed the people better than *Nero* for the first *five* years of his Raign? and that wicked Tyrant *Tyberius* at first did so behave himself, as if he had been but a private man: Being by one called *Lord*, he commanded the party that he should call him so no more, so humble this Tyrant seemed to be: And speaking to the Senate of *Rome*, *I have had this good fortune* (said he) *to have you for my gratious Masters, and so long as I live I will acknowledge you for my good Lords: For a good Prince* (said he) *must not only be a servant to the Senate, but also to all the Citizens in general, and oftentimes to every one of them in particular.* And yet we read not of *two* more cruell *Tyrants*, than these two were; after they had well tasted of the power of *Soveraignty*; so much doe the *honours* of this world change the *manners* of men. *see* Suetonius *and* Tacitus *Annals*

Were you all of a *publique* Spirit, humble & united in your *Counsels* both in the Parliament, Army & Navy, & should goe hand in hand together in order to a good *Settlement*, yet you would find it a difficult work long to secure the cause of the *Common-wealth* against the common enemy by successive Parliaments, in regard of the vitiousness and corruption both of the ancient men and the youth of these nations (who are dangerously leavened with principles of *Tyranny* and superstition) how much more difficult will you find it to be, if you fall into parties & *factions* among your selves,

Impriſoning, Confining, Supplanting one another, to the great rejoycing of thoſe that greedily gape after the ruine of you all.

As we ſay all truths are not fit to be ſpoken at all times, ſo neither are all actions (that tend to the vindicating the *priviledges* of Parliament) to be done at all times: Every thing is *beautifull* in its ſeaſon: You ſhould put a difference (as between a Church, ſo) between a *Common-wealth* that is conſtituting or ſetling, and a Common-wealth that is well *Conſtituted* or ſettled. Is there not much partiality among your ſelves? and ſhall we think that *Juſtice* is partiall? Some men that were high Royalliſts and *Protectorians*, are put into places of great Truſt and Power, and others that were and are ſtill high againſt the Royal and *Protectorian* Intereſt muſt be laid aſide with diſgrace and contempt enough; becauſe in ſome things they have not gone along with you (perhaps through miſapprehenſion or the violence of temptation) though you may well confide in them, having had much experience of their faithfulnes, not onely in acting, but alſo in ſuffering for the publique Cauſe and Intereſt.

Peradventure *Sir*, thoſe among you, that are now ſo forward to caſt out their old friends (who are mutually ingaged with them againſt the *Royall* Intereſt) may ſhortly deſire their help and aſſiſtance when tis too late, being over-voted by Royalliſts and *Ambodexters*, who will be ready to ſhake hands with whatſoever is uppermoſt, be it good or bad: Beſides is not this a ready way (I pray thinke on it in cold blood) to make men deſperate, and to put them upon dangerous Temptations & Deſigns that may hazard all? and if this ſhould come to paſs, we may juſtly blame the raſhnes and indiſcretion of ſome hot ſpirits amongſt you, as well as the unfaithfulneſs & inconſtancy of ſome of the Army-officers. Believe it, *Sr.* thoſe men that can retire themſelves to their private dwellings (from publique Tranſactions) in ſuch a time as this, not contributing to th' ruin of their native Countrie, are the happieſt men living, while others by their paſſions & follies are ſetting three nations in a flame, and opening a wide door (though not intended by them) for a foreign enemy to come in, who (you may be ſure) will

be

be moſt violent againſt ſuch as are upon the *Stage*, and have the greateſt power in their hands. What ſhall we ſay! No ſooner are we delivered from cruell men that riſe up againſt us, but we are ready to bite and devour one another, and every man vents his own paſſions and the rancor of his *Spirit*, and ſtill the Publique Intereſt is neglected, which intimates to me that God will yet bring upon us a ſharper Rod, yea, and it may continue long, that at length we may be convinced of the folly of our paſſions and diviſions, and learn to live in love and unity: We may be confident, *Sir*, that till this be in ſome meaſure accompliſhed (what ever ſome men imagine or dream of their modells of Government) we ſhall ſee no good ſettlement in this *Land*, nor will our Rights and Liberties as men and Chriſtians be eſtabliſhed and ſecured.

As for your ſelf, Noble Sir, I am perſwaded that you are ſober and rational, of a healing Spirit, not approving extreams either on the one hand or the other; Let me humbly entreat you, yea, conjure you, by that love that you bear to Chriſt and his people, to your Native Country and that precious Cauſe wherein (with the firſt) you imbarqued your ſelf, to doe what you can by your meekneſs and wiſdome to mollify and ſweeten the Spirits of your fellow-*Members*, that they may not continue embittered and *implacable* againſt thoſe honeſt men of whoſe aſſiſtance you may ſhortly ſtand in great need, both as to a *Civill* and *Military* capacity. Remember Sir, that every *Inſtrument* is not fit for every work, many miſcarriages ſhould be paſſed by, rather than to hazard the peace of theſe Nations by putting a fair opportunity into the hands of your Enemies, *Domeſtique* and *Foraign*: O that you could debate the things wherein you differ with meekneſs of wiſdome, that Truth, Reaſon and Juſtice, might take place and be eſtabliſhed! If the particulars of this Letter, or ſome of them be not taken into ſerious conſideration, and that ſpeedily, I fear, that in ſtead of a good ſettlement, you & we ſhall be Involved in greater Diſtractions & Confuſions, & that theſe are but the beginnings of our ſorrows. Would to God that in this Caſe thoſe two *Honourable* perſons, *Genera Monke* and Vice-admiral *Lawſon* (who I doubt not are true

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vers of their Native Country) would ſeaſonably endeavour by their Petitions and Deſires, that there might be a better underſtanding and *Reconciliation* among you, before it be too late; Thus much in effect they have declared and promiſed in their ſeveral papers, and I truſt they will not be backward to performe it; but themſelves together with others will joyn hearts and hands in promoting ſo good a work, wherein the peace of theſe Nations and the ſafety of all the people of God is ſo much *concerned*. Sir, I have been ſomewhat tedious in opening my heart to you, but as herein the Glory of God and the good of my Native Country is my utmoſt *aim*; ſo I hope your Friendſhip and *Candor* will bear with my tedioufneſs and importunitie, and cauſe you to put a good conſtruction on the paſſages of this Letter. The Lord (if it be his will) unite you in your *Counſells*, for the Glory of his Name, and the Publique good of theſe *Nations*. *January* 16. 1659.

Poſt-Script.

GIve me leave, Sir, to put you in mind of two or three grave Sentences of ſome Hiſtorians and Philoſophers.

Regnum quidem nomen, ſed non Regia poteſtas, Roma fuit expulſa, *&c.* Livie. *Though the name of* King *was exploded with alacrity, yet the* Kingly *power was ſtill retained in* Rome *with all art and ſubtilty, and ſhared under another notion among themſelves, who were the great ones of the City.*

Societatem iniere, nequid regeretur in *Repub.* quod diſplicuiſſet ulli è tribus, *&c. Suetonius.*

Pompey, Cæſar *and* Craſſus *made a bargain that nothing ſhould be done in that* Commonwealth *that diſpleaſed any one of them, and thus the* Soveraignty *was diſpoſed of by a few potent men.*

Per negligentiam mutatur ſtatus *Reip.* cum ad poteſtates aſſumuntur illi, qui præſentem ſtatum non amant, *&c. Ariſt. in Pol lib.* 1. *The form of a* Commonwealth *is then altered by negligence, when thoſe men are taken into power, which doe not cordially love the preſent* eſtabliſhment. *It is not onely a right way to preſerve a* Commonwealth, *to avoid thoſe that hate it, but thoſe alſo are as much to be avoided that doe not love it.*

FINIS.

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